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IV. — *The Development of the Ablaut in Germanic.*

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IN this paper I propose to speak of the strong verbs in Gothic, High German, English, Saxon, and Norse, with occasional reference to the Frisian. I shall first give a complete list of the strong verbs in each dialect, then examine the relations of the dialects to one another in the distribution of the verbs with Ablaut, and finally I shall examine the question how far these verbs are old, and how far they may be shown to be peculiar to the individual dialects. I shall try also to show the causes and general lines of the new developments in the Ablaut. The phonetic development of the Ablaut vowels I shall not touch upon here.

SECTION I.

Lists of strong verbs have already been published. The first was by Grimm, in his Grammar. This was extended and improved by Amelung in his *Bildung der Tempusstämme*, 1871; but further investigation and study has shown even this later list to be so faulty that it seems necessary, in order to win a firm foundation for our work, to present the facts once more in the light which the last twelve years have shed upon them, before proceeding to examine their meaning.

The table of strong verbs which follows contains all the strong verbs which occur in Gothic and Old Norse (the East Germanic dialects), and in Old English, Old (and Middle) High German, and Old Saxon (the West Germanic dialects). These are arranged, according to the classification used in my paper on the English Ablaut in the *Transactions* for 1882, in parallel columns, and alphabetized according to Old Germanic "Stems" constructed to represent the simplest form of the root-vowel with the consonants that would have accompanied it in Old Germanic had the verb been present there. A uniform alphabet is thus attained for all the dialects, and the blank

spaces left by the absence of a verb in any dialect are filled by related forms in Italics, where such occur. The table includes the reduplicating verbs of Class V., and the preterito-presents. Where only participles occur, they are given in parentheses. Notes have been added, at the close of the list, to such verbs as seemed to demand any particular remark.

The abbreviations are as follows: OG. stands for Old Germanic; WG., for West Germanic; G., for Gothic; ON., for Old Norse; OHG., for Old High German; OS., for Old Saxon; OE., for Old English; ME., for Middle English; NE., for New English.

A mark of interrogation (?) *before* a word implies a doubt whether it should be placed where it is. The same mark *after* a verb implies that it is found only in the present tense. The sign + means that both strong and weak forms occur. W. stands for "weak," and S. for "strong"; A. for adjective, N. for noun.

I. a.

Stem.	G.	ON.	OE.	OHG.	OS.
at	itan	eta	etan	ezzan	etan
bad	bidjan	biðja	biddan	bittan	biddan
brak ¹	brikan	<i>breka</i> w.	brecan	brechan	brekan
drap		drepa	drepan	trefan	
5 dav	divan	<i>deyja</i> IV.	<i>dēað</i> N.	<i>torwan</i> W.	<i>dōjan</i> W.
fah	<i>fahēps</i> N.	(feginn)	fēon	fehan	
fat	fitan	feta	?fetan	fezan	
frat		freta			
fnah				fnehan	
10 frag			fricgan		
fragn ²	fraihtan	fregna	frignan		fregnan
gab	giban	gefa	giéfan	geban	geban
gat	gitan	geta	giétan	gezzan	getan
hlaf	hlifan				
15 jah				jehan	gehan
jas				jesan	
jad				jetan	
knag		knā <i>pret.-p.</i>	<i>cnāwan</i> V.	<i>cnān</i> W.	<i>bi-knegan</i> ?
knad		<i>knōða</i> W.	cnedan	cnetan	
20 kvaþ	qiþan	kveða	cweðan	quedan	quethan
lag	ligan	liggja	licgan	liggan	liggan
lak		leka	<i>leccan</i> W.	(lechen)	
las	lisan	lesa	lesan	lesan	lesan
mag	<i>mag pret.-p.</i>	mā	maeg	mac	mag
25 man	<i>man pret.-p.</i>	man	man	<i>man</i> N.	man
mat	mitan	meta	metan	mezzan	
nah	<i>nah pret.-p.</i>	<i>g-nōgr</i> A.	nēah	nah	<i>gi-nōg</i> A.

Stem.	G.	ON.	OE.	OHG.	OS.
nas	nisan	<i>nest</i> N.	nesan	nesan	nesan
naþ	nipan	<i>nāð</i> N.	<i>nēðan</i> W.	<i>ga-nāda</i> N.	<i>nātha</i> N.
30 plag			plēon	pflegan	plegan
rag				regen MHG.	
rak	rikan	reka ?	recan	rechen MHG.	
sahv	saihvan	sjā	sēon	sehan	sehan
sat	sitan	sitja	sittan	sizzan	sittan
35 skah		<i>skaga</i> W.	<i>scēon</i> W.	scehan	
skrak				<i>schrecken</i> MHG.	
skrap		<i>skrapa</i> W.	screpan	<i>scarbōn</i> W.	
slak		(slokinn)	<i>sleāc</i> A.	<i>slach</i> MHG. A.	
sprak		<i>sprek</i> N.	sprecan	sprehhan	sprekan
40 snav	snivan	<i>snūa</i> V.	<i>snēowan</i> III.		
stak	stik N.	<i>stikill</i> N.	<i>sticel</i> N.	stehhan	stekan
strap		streða	<i>stregdan</i> Ic.	stredan	
svab		sofa	swefan	<i>swebjan</i> W.	<i>swebjan</i> W.
svap ¹⁷		<i>swiða</i> II.	<i>swaðre</i> N.	swedan	
45 svak			<i>swec</i> N.	swehhan	<i>swek</i> N.
trad	trudan	troða	tredan	tretan	<i>trada</i> N.
trag	<i>trigō</i> N.	trega	<i>tregjan</i> W.	<i>trāgi</i> A.	tregan
trak				trehhan	
þag		þiggja	þicgan	<i>dikkan</i> W.	<i>thiggean</i> W.
50 vab		vefa	wefan	weban	<i>webbi</i> N.
vad	vidan	<i>vaðr</i> N.	<i>wēd</i> N.	wetan	<i>wād</i> N.
vag	vigan	vega	wegan	wegan	<i>weg</i> N.
vas	visan	vesa	wesan	wesan	wesan
vrak	vrikan	reka	wrecan	rehhan	wrekan

I. b.

55 bar	bairan	bera	beran	beran	beran
bram		<i>brim</i> N.	<i>brim</i> N.	breman	<i>bremmja</i> N.
dval	<i>dvals</i> A.	<i>dvöl</i> N.	dwelen	twelan	dwelan
hal	<i>halja</i> N.	<i>hel</i> N.	helan	helan	helan
kval		<i>kvelja</i> W.	cwelan	quelan	quelan
60 kwam	qiman	koma	cuman	kuman	kuman
nam	niman	nema	niman	neman	niman
skal	skal <i>pret.-p.</i>	skal	sceāl	skal	skal
skar		skera	sceran	sceran	<i>skard</i> A.
stal	stilan	stela	stelan	stelan	stelan
65 swar				sweran	
tam	timan	<i>tamr</i> A.	<i>tam</i> A.	zeman	
tar	tairan		teran	zeran	<i>terjan</i> W.
tram				tremen MHG.	
pvar ³	<i>pvairhs</i> A.	<i>pverra</i> Ic.	pweran	dweran	
70 val	vulan ?	<i>vella</i> Ic.	<i>wéallan</i> V.	<i>wallan</i> V.	<i>wallan</i> V.

I. c.

	Stem.	G.	ON.	OE.	OHG.	OS.
	ann	<i>anst</i> N.	ann <i>pret.-p.</i>	an	an	
	balg	<i>balgs</i> N.	(bolginn)	belgan	belgan	belgan
	ball ⁴		bella	bellan	bellan	<i>bil</i> N.
	band	bindan	binda	bindan	bintan	bindan
75	barg	baيران	bjarga	béorgan	bergan	bergan
	bark		<i>berkja</i> W.	béorcan		
	blaggv	bliggvan		<i>blowe</i> ME. N. <i>bliuwan</i> III.		
	braggv		(brugginn)	<i>brēowan</i> III. <i>briuwan</i> III.		
	bragd		bregða	bregdan	brettan	bregdan
80	bramm		<i>brim</i> N.	<i>brim</i> N.	brimmen MHG.	<i>bremmja</i> N.
	brang ⁵	briggan		bringan	bringan	bringan
	brann	brinnan	brenna	béornan	brinnan	brinnan
	brast		bresta	brestan	brestan	brestan
	dalb	<i>draban</i> IV.		delfan	telban	delban
85	darb		<i>djarfa</i> W.	déorfan	derben MHG.	derven
	dars	<i>dars pret.-p.</i>	? <i>darr</i> N.	déar	tar	dar
	dant		detta	<i>dynt</i> N.		
	drank	drigkan	drekka	drincan	trinkan	drinkan
	faht			féohtan	fehtan	
90	falh	filhan	fela Ib.	felhan	felhan	felhan
	fand	finþan	finna	findan	fintan	findan
	flaht	<i>flahta</i> N.		<i>flēax</i> N.	flehtan	
	gall	<i>gōljan</i> W.	gella	giellan	gellan	
	gald	gildan	gjalda	giældan	geltan	geldan
95	galp		<i>galpa</i> W.	gielpān	gelfan	
	gann	ginnan		ginnan	ginnan	ginnan
	gard	gairdan				
	garr			géorran	<i>gurren</i> W. MHG.	
	glamm				glimmen MHG.	
100	gnest		gnesta	<i>gnēstan</i> W.		
	gnall		gnella			
	grann				grinnen MHG.	
	grand	<i>grundus</i> N.	<i>grannr</i> N.	grindan	grinden MG.	<i>grund</i> N.
	gramm	<i>grammjan</i> W.	<i>gramr</i> A.	grimman	grimmen MHG.	<i>gram</i> A.
105	hall				hellan	
	halp	hilpan	hjalpa	helpan	helfan	helpan
	hank		<i>hinka</i> W.		hinkan	
	hand	hinþan		<i>hūð</i> N.	<i>hunda</i> N.	
	hlamm	<i>hlamm</i> N.	<i>hlam</i> N.	hlimman	limman	
110	hnaggv		hnöggva	<i>hnēaw</i> A.	<i>ge-nau</i> A.	
	hramp			hrimpan	rimpfan	
	hrand		hrinda	hrindan		
	hrankv		hrökkva			
	hrasp				hrespan	
115	hvarr			hwéorran		
	hvarb	hvariban	hverfa	hwéorfan	hwerban	hwerban

	Stem.	G.	ON.	OE.	OHG.	OS.
	kann	kann <i>pret.-p.</i>	kann	cinnan cann <i>pret.-p.</i>	kan	kan
	karb			céorfan	kerven MG.	
	karr				cherran	
120	klamb		<i>klifa</i> II.	climban	chlimban	
	klamp				klimpfen MHG.	
	klang ⁶			clingan	chlingan	
	klankv		klökkva	<i>clokken</i> W.ME.		
	knall				cnellen MHG.	
125	krang			cringan		
	kramm		<i>kremja</i> W.	crimman	chrimman	
	kramp		(kroppinn)	<i>krampe</i> N. ME.	crimpfan	
	kvall				quellan	
	kvank			cwincan		
130	lang	<i>leihts</i> A.	<i>lëttr</i> A.	<i>langre</i> A.	lingan	
	lann	linnan	<i>linna</i> W.	linnan	linnan	
	lamp			limpan	limpfan	
	lask				leskan	<i>leskjan</i> W.
	malk	<i>miluks</i> N.	<i>mjölke</i> N.	melcan	melcan	
135	marn	<i>maurnan</i> W.	<i>morna</i> W.	murnan	<i>mornēn</i> W.	<i>mornēn</i> W.
	nanþ	<i>nanþjan</i> W.	<i>nenna</i> W.	<i>nīðan</i> W.	nindan	<i>nāðian</i> W.
	rann	rinnan	renna	rinnan	rinnan	rinnan
	salk			selcan	selken MG.	
	sangv	siggvan	syngva	singan	singan	singan
140	sankv	sigqan	sökkva	sincan	sincan	sinkan
	sanþ	<i>sandjan</i> W.	<i>senda</i> W.	sinnan	sinnan	<i>sīð</i> N.
	sard		serða	serdan	serten MG.	
	skald				skeltan	
	skalf		skjälfa	<i>scelfan</i> W.		
145	skall	<i>skillings</i> N.	skella	<i>scilling</i> N.	skellan	<i>skilling</i> N.
	skanþ		<i>skinn</i> N.	<i>scinn</i> N.	schinden MHG.	
	skarr		<i>skera</i> Ib.	<i>sceran</i> Ib.	skerran	
	skranþ		skreppa		schrumpfen MHG.	
	skrand	<i>skreitan</i> II.			skrintan	
150	skrank			scrincan	schrinken MHG.	
	sland	slindan		<i>slitan</i> II.	slintan	
	slang		slyngja	slingan	slingan	
	slank		slinka Swed.	slincan	<i>slīhhan</i> II.	
	slamp		sleppa	<i>slīpan</i> II.	<i>slimm</i> A.	
155	small		smella			
	smart ⁷		<i>melta</i> W.	meltan	smelzan	<i>melþjan</i> W.
	smart			smerten ME.	smerzan	
	snark				snerhan	
	snarp		<i>snara</i> W.		snerfan	
160	snart		snerta			
	spann	spinnan	spinna	spinnan	spinnan	
	sparn		sperna	spurnan	spurnan	spurnan
	sprang		springa	springan	springan	springan

	Stem-	G.	ON.	OE.	OHG.	OS.
	sprant		spretta	(<i>sproten</i> III.)	sprinzan	
165	stang	stiggan	stinga	stingan	<i>stanga</i> N.	
	stankv	stigqan	stökkva	stincan	stinkan	
	starb		<i>starf</i> N.	stéorfan	sterban	sterban
	start				sterzen MHG.	
	stragd		<i>streða</i> Ia.	stregdan	<i>stredan</i> Ic.	
170	svalg		svelgja	swelgan	swelgan	
	svall		svella	swellan	swellan	swellan
	svalt	sviltan	svelta	sweltan	swelzan	sweltan
	svamm	<i>svumsl</i> N.	svimma	swimman	swimman	
	svand		<i>svinnr</i> A.	swindan	swintan	
175	svangv	<i>svaggevan</i> W.	<i>svangr</i> A.	swingan	swingan	swingan
	svank		<i>svíkja</i> II.	swincan	<i>swiðhan</i> II.	<i>swīcan</i> II.
	svarb	svairban	sverfa	swéorfan	swerban	swerban
	svark		<i>svarkr</i> N.	swéorcan	<i>gi-swerc</i>	swerkan
	taggv		tyggva			
180	tald		<i>tiald</i> N.	teldan	<i>zelt</i> N.	
	tang		<i>tengja</i> W.	tingan	<i>zengi</i> A.	<i>tengi</i> A.
	tramp	trimpan				
	trann				trinnen MHG.	
	bahs			<i>pixl</i> N.	dehsen MHG.	
185	þamp		<i>dampi</i> N.	<i>dampen</i> W. ME.	dimpfen MHG.	
	þand			þindan		
	þang	<i>þeiðan</i> II.	<i>þungr</i> A.	þingan	? <i>dāha</i> N.	
	þans	þinsan	þistill N.	<i>þistel</i> N.	dinsan	
	þarb	<i>þarf pret.-þ.</i>	þarf	þearf	darf	þarf
190	þars	þairsan	<i>þerra</i> W.	<i>þyr</i> A.	<i>derran</i> W.	
	þrand			þrindan	drinden MG.	
	þrangv	<i>þreiðan</i> II.	þryngva	þringan	dringan	þringan
	þrask	þriskan	<i>þriskja</i> W.	þrescan	drescan	
	þvarr	<i>þvairhs</i> A.	þverra	<i>þveran</i> Ib.	<i>dweran</i> Ib.	
195	þvang		<i>þvinga</i> W.	<i>þvang</i> N.	dwingan	þwingan
	vall	<i>vnlan</i> Ib.	vella	<i>wéallan</i> V.	wellan	<i>wallan</i> V.
	valt	<i>valtjan</i> W.	velta	<i>wéaltan</i> V	<i>walzan</i> V.	
	valv	vilvan	<i>völva</i> N.			
	vand	vindan	vinda	windan	wintan	windan
200	vank			<i>wincjan</i> W.	winkan	<i>wankol</i> A.
	vann	vinnan	vinna	winnan	winnan	winnan
	varp	vairpan	verpa	wéorpan	werfan	werpan
	vars	<i>vairs</i> A.	<i>vörr</i> A.	<i>wlers</i> A.	werren	werren
	varþ	vairþan	verða	wéorðan	werdan	werdan
205	vrang	<i>vrungō</i> N.	vringa	wringan	ringen	

II.

bid	beidan	bīða +	bīðan	bītan	bīðan
bit	beitan	bīta	bītan	bīzan	bītan

	Stem.	G.	ON.	OE.	OHG.	OS.
	blik		blikja +	blican	blīchen	blīkan
	bris				(brisen MHG.)	
210	brīp				(britten MHG.)	
	dig	deigan	<i>deigr</i> N.	<i>dæg</i> N.	<i>teig</i> N.	
	dik				tīchen MHG.	
	drib	dreiban	drifa	drīfan	trīban	drīban
	drit		drīta	drītan ?	drissen MG.	
215	dvin		<i>dvīna</i> W.	dwīnan		
	fis		fisa		<i>fist</i> N. MHG.	
	flit		<i>flūt</i> N. Swed.	flitan	vlizan	
	gin		gīna +	gīnan	<i>gīnēn</i> W.	
	glid ⁸		<i>glāðr</i> A.	glīdan	glīten MHG.	glīdan
					(gliffen MHG.)	
220	glip	<i>glitmunjan</i> W.	<i>glīta</i> W.	<i>glītan</i> W.	glīzan	glītan
	glit			gnīdan	gnītan	gnīdan
	gnid				gnītan	
	gli				glien MHG.	
	grin		<i>grīma</i> N.	<i>grinnian</i> W.	grīnan	
225	grip	greipan	grīpa	grīpan	grīfan	grīpan
	gris			grīsan		
	hlib	<i>hleibjan</i> W.	<i>hlīfa</i> W.		līpan	
	hlid		<i>hlīð</i> N.	hlīdan	<i>lit</i> N.	hlīdan
	hnigv	hneivan	hnīga	hnīgan	nīgen MHG.	hnīgan
230	hnip		(hnipinn)	<i>hnīpian</i> W.		
	hnit		hnīta	hnītan	<i>niz</i> N. MHG.	
	hrin ⁹		hrīna	hrīnan	hrīnan	hrīnan
	hrib		hrīfa	rīven ME.	rīban	
	hvin		hvīna	hwīnan ?		
235	ih ¹⁰	<i>aih pret.-p.</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>āh</i>	<i>eih</i>	<i>ēh</i>
	ki ¹¹	kijan	<i>kīð</i> N.	<i>cīnan</i> II.	<i>chīnan</i> II.	<i>kīnan</i> II.
	kid ²⁶			cīdan ?		
	knid ²³			cnīdan ?		
	kin ¹¹	<i>keinan</i> W.	<i>kind</i> N.	cīnan	chīnan	kīnan
240	klib		klīfa	clīfan	chlīban	klīban
	klip		klīpa +	<i>clyppan</i> W.		
	krig				krīgen MG.	
	kvin	<i>qainōn</i> W.	<i>kveina</i> W.	cwīnan	<i>weinōn</i> W.	
	kvip		kvīða +	<i>cwīðan</i> W.		
245	lib	leiban	<i>līfa</i> W.	līfan	līban	liban
	lihv	leihvan	<i>ljā</i> W.	lēon	līhan	līhan
	lik	<i>leikan</i> W.	<i>līka</i> W.	<i>līcan</i> W.	(lichen MHG.)	<i>līkōn</i> W.
	lim		<i>līm</i> N.	<i>līm</i> N.	līmen MHG.	
	lip	leiþan	līða +	līðan	līdan	līðan
250	lis	leisan	<i>lēra</i> W.	<i>lēran</i> W.	<i>lērran</i> W.	<i>lērjan</i> W.
	mig		mīga	mīgan	mīgen NNG.	
	mip	<i>maidjan</i> W.	<i>meiða</i> W.	mīðan	mīdan	mīðan
	nip	<i>neiþ</i> N.	<i>nīð</i> N.	<i>nīð</i> N.	nīden MHG.	<i>nīð</i> N.
	nip	<i>ga-nipnan</i> W.		nīpan		
255	rid	<i>raids</i> A.	rīða	rīdan	rītan	

Stem.	G.	ON.	OE.	OHG.	OS.
rik				rīhan	
rim				rīman	
rin	<i>rignjan</i> W.	<i>regn</i> N.	rīnan +	<i>reganōn</i> W.	<i>regan</i> N.
ris	reisan	rīsa	rīsan	rīsan	rīsan
260 rip	<i>raupjan</i> W.		rīpan	<i>roufan</i> W.	
rist ¹²	<i>vrīts</i> N.	rīsta	<i>writan</i> II.	<i>rīzan</i> II.	<i>writan</i> II.
sig		sīga	sīgan	sīgan	sīgan
sih		<i>sjā</i> W.	sēon	sīhan	
sik			sīcan		
265 siþ		sīða +		<i>seid</i> N.	
skib				schiben MHG.	
skid		<i>skīð</i> N.	<i>scīd</i> N.	schiten MHG.	
skin	skeinan	skīna	scīnan	skīnan	skīnan
skit		skīta	schīten ME.	schīzan	
270 skiþ	<i>skaidan</i> V.	<i>skīð</i> N.	<i>scādan</i> V.	schīden MHG.	<i>skēðan</i> V.
skri				skrīan	
skrib			scrifan	scriban	skrīban
skrid		skriða	scriðan	scritan	skridan
skrit	skreitan			<i>schrantz</i> N.	skritan
275 slid ¹³	sleidan	<i>slīðrar</i> N.	slīdan	slīten MHG.	
slik		<i>slinka</i> Ic. Swed.	<i>slincan</i> Ic.	slīhhan	
slip		<i>slīpa</i> W. Icel.	slīpan	slīfan	
slit		slīta	slītan	slīzan	slītan
smit	smeitan	<i>smīta</i> W.	smītan	smīzan	
280 snik		(snikinn)	snīcan	<i>snahhan</i> W.	
snīþ	sneiþan	snīða	snīðan		snīðan
sniv ¹⁴		snīva	snīwen ME.	snīwan	
spiv	speiwan	<i>spýja</i> V.	spīwan	spīwan	spīwan
sprit ¹⁵		<i>spretta</i> Ic.	<i>splīt</i> NE. W.	sprīzen MG.	
285 stig	steigan	stīga	stīgan	stīgan	stīgan
strid		<i>strīða</i> W.	strīden ME.	strītan	<i>strid</i> N.
strik	<i>striks</i> N.	<i>striuka</i> III.	strīcan	strīchan	
svib	sveiban	svīfa +	swīfan	<i>sweibōn</i> W.	
svig				swīgen MHG. + <i>swīgōn</i> W.	
290 svik	<i>svikns</i> A.	svīkja	swīcan	swīhhan	swīkan
svin			<i>swintan</i> Ic.	swīnan	
svip ¹⁶	<i>sveipains</i>	svīpa		swāfen MHG.	swīpan ?
svip ¹⁷		svīða +	<i>swaðul</i> N.	<i>swedan</i> Ia.	
tiþ	teiþan	<i>tjā</i> W.	<i>tēon</i>	zīhan	tīhan
295 þih	þeiþan	<i>þjā</i> W.	þēon	dīhan	þīhan
þrib		þrīfa	<i>þrāfjan</i> W.		
þriþ	þreiþan	<i>þryngva</i> Ic.	<i>þringan</i> Ic.	<i>drīhe</i> MHG. N.	þringan Ic.
þvit		<i>þveita</i> W.	þwītan		
vig	veiþan	<i>vīg</i> N.	wīgan	wīhan	<i>wīg</i> N.
300 vik		vīkja	wīcan	wīhhan	wīkan
vip	veipan		<i>wīþjan</i> W.	wīfan	
vis				wīsan	
vit	veitan	veit <i>pret. p.</i>	wītan	wīzan	wītan

	Stem.	G.	ON.	OE.	OHG.	OS.
	vlit	<i>vlits</i> N.	līta	wlitan	litze MHG. N.	<i>wliti</i> N.
305	vrih			wrēon	rīhan	
	vrit	<i>vrits</i> N.	rīta	writan	rīzan	writan
	vriþ		rīþa	wriðan	rīden MHG.	<i>wrēðjan</i> W.

III.

	bud	biudan	bjōða	bēodan	biotan	biodan
	bug	biugan	bjūga	būgan	biogan	
310	but		<i>bauta</i> + v.	<i>bēatan</i> V.	biuzen MHG.	
	blu	<i>bliggvan</i> Ic.		blowe ME. N.	bliuwan	
	bru		<i>brugginn</i> Ic.	brēowan	briuwen MHG.	
	bruk	<i>brūkjan</i> W.	<i>brūka</i> W.	brūcan	<i>brūhhan</i> W.	brūkan ?
	brut		brjōta	brēotan	briezen MHG.	<i>brētōn</i> W.
315	brup			brēoðan		
	dub	<i>dūbō</i> N.	<i>dūfa</i> N.	dūfan	<i>dūbo</i> N.	<i>dūfā</i> N.
	dug	<i>daug pret.-p.</i>	<i>duga</i> W.	dēah	toug	dōg
	drug	driugan	<i>drýgja</i> W.	drēogan	triogan	driogan
	drup		drjūpa	drēopan	triufan	driopan
320	drus	driusan	<i>dreyri</i> N.	drēosan	<i>trōr</i> MHG. N.	driosan
	fuk		fjūka	<i>fog</i> NE.		
	flug		fjūga	flēogan	fliogan	
	fluh	þliuhan	<i>flyja</i> W.	flēon	fliohan	fliohan
	flut	? <i>flauts</i> A.	fljōta	flēotan	flioian	fliotan
325	frus		frjōsa +	frēosan	friosan	
	gup		<i>gaupn</i> N.	gēopan	<i>gauf</i> N.	
	gus		gjōsa			
	gut	giutan	gjōta	gēotan	giozan	giotan
	grus			grēosan	? <i>gruoz</i> MHG. N.	<i>gruri</i> N.
330	grut	<i>grētan</i> V.	<i>grāta</i> V.	grēotan	<i>grāzen</i> MHG. W.	griotan ?
	huf	hiufan	<i>hjūfa</i> W.	<i>hēofan</i> W.	<i>hiufan</i> W.	hiovan ?
	hup			hēoðan		
	hlut		hljōta	hlēotan	hlioian	hliotan
	hnup	hniupan	<i>hnupla</i> W.	<i>hnēapan</i> V.		
335	hnus		hnjōsa		nioian	
	hnup	<i>hnupō</i> N.	hnjōða	<i>hnossjan</i> W.	hniutan	
	hru		<i>hryggva</i> W.	hrēowan	hriuwan	hreuiian
	hrus		hrjōsa	hrēosan	? <i>roso</i> N.	
	hrut		hrjōta	hrūtan	rūzan ?	
340	hrup ¹⁸		hrjōða	(hroden)		
	ku			cēowan	chiuwan	
	kus	kioian	kjōsa +	cēosan	chiosan	kioian
	klub		kljūfa	clēofan	chlioban	clioban
	krud			crūdan	crūden MNG.	
345	kruk			criochan		
	krup		krjūpa	crēopan	krūfen MG.	
	krust	kriustan			? <i>krīsten</i> MHG. W.	
	lub	<i>liubs</i> A.	<i>liufr</i> A.	lēofan	<i>liub</i> A.	<i>liof</i> A.

Stem.	G.	ON.	OE.	OHG.	OS.
	liudan	<i>lyðr</i> N.	lēodan	liotan	liodan
350 lug	liugan	ljūga	lēogan	liogan	liogan
luk	lūkan	lūka +	lūcan	lūhhan	lūkan
lus	liusan	<i>leysa</i> W.	lēosan	liosan	liosan
lust	<i>lustus</i> N.	ljōsta	<i>lust</i> N.	<i>lust</i> N.	<i>lust</i> N.
lut	<i>liuts</i> A.	lūta	lūtan	<i>lūzēn</i> W.	
355 nut	niutan	njōta	nēotan	niozan	niotan
rub	<i>raubōn</i> W.	rjūfa	rēofan	<i>roubōn</i> W.	<i>rōvōn</i> W.
rud	<i>rauds</i> A	rjōða	rēodan	<i>rōt</i> A	<i>rōd</i> A.
ruk		rjūka	rēocan	riohhan	? riokan
rut		rjōta	rēotan	rizan	<i>rōtōn</i> W.
360 sug ¹⁹		sūga	sūgan	sūgan	
suk	siukan	<i>sjūkr</i> N.	<i>sēoc</i> A.	<i>siuchen</i> W.	<i>suht</i> N.
sup		sūpa	sūpan	sūfan	
sup	? <i>sauþs</i> N.	sjōða	sēoðan	siodan	
skub	skiuban		scūfan	scioban	
365 skut	<i>skauts</i> N.	skjōta	scēotan	skiozan	skiotan
slup	sliupan	<i>sleppa</i> Ic.	slēopan	sliofan	
slut		slūta Swed.		sliozan	
smug		smjūga	smūgan	smiegen MHG.	
smuk			smēocan		
370 snu	<i>snivan</i> Ia.	<i>snūa</i> V.	snēowan		
spuft ²⁰			spēohtan		
sprut		<i>spretta</i> Ic.	(sproten)	spriozen MHG.	
stub	<i>stubjus</i> N.			stiuban	
stup		stūpa	<i>stūþjan</i> W.	? <i>stufþ</i> N	stuypen O.
375 strud			strūdan	<i>strūtjan</i> W.	[Dutch.
struk	<i>striks</i> N. See II.	strjūka	<i>strīcan</i> II.	<i>strīkhan</i> II.	
svuh			swēon		
tuh	tiuhan	(toginn)	tēon	ziohan	tiohan
put	<i>puthaurn</i> N.	pjōta	þūtan	diozan	
380 prut	priutan	prjōta	þrēotan	drizan	

IV.

ag	ōg <i>pret.-p.</i>	<i>agi</i> N.	<i>ēgan</i> W.	<i>egi</i> N.	
ak		aka	acan		
al	alan	ala	alan	<i>alt</i> A	
an	anan	<i>ōnd</i> N.	<i>anda</i> N.	<i>anado</i> N.	<i>ando</i> N.
385 bak		<i>baka</i> W.	bacan	bachan	
dab	daban	<i>dafna</i> W.	(dafen)		
dav	<i>divan</i> Ia.	deyja	<i>dēad</i> N.	<i>towjan</i> W.	<i>dōjan</i> W.
drab	draban		<i>drēfan</i> W.	<i>truobjan</i> W.	<i>drōbjan</i> W.
drag	dragan	draga	dragan	tragan	dragan
390 far	faran	fara	faran	faran	faran
fiah		flā	flēan	flān MNG.	
frap	frapjan	<i>frōðr</i> A.	<i>frōd</i> A.	<i>frōt</i> A.	<i>frōd</i> A.
gal	<i>gōljan</i> W.	gala	galan	galan	

	Stem.	G.	ON.	OE.	OHG.	OS.
	gav		geyja			
395	grab	graban	grafa	grafan	graban	graban
	gnag		gnaga	gnagan	nagan	<i>nagal</i> N.
	hab	hafjan	hefja	hebban	hebban	hebbjan
	hlah	hlahjan	hlæja	hliehhan	hlahhan	hlahan
	hlap	hlapjan	hlaða	hladan	hladan	hladan
400	hnaf		hnafa			
	kal	<i>kalds</i> A.	kala	<i>caljan</i> W.	<i>kalt</i> A.	<i>kald</i> A.
	klav		klā	<i>clāwu</i> N.	<i>chlāwa</i> N.	
	lah	<i>laian</i> V.	<i>lā</i> W.	lēan	lahan	lahan
	lap		<i>lepja</i> W.	<i>lapan</i> W.	laffan	
405	mal	malan	mala	<i>mēalo</i> N.	malan	malan
	mat	mōt <i>pret.-p.</i>	mōt N.	mōt	muoz	mōt
	raþ	rapjan	<i>raða</i> W.	<i>reðjan</i> W.	<i>redjon</i> W.	<i>reðjon</i>
	raf ²¹			rafan		
	sab			<i>sap</i> N.	seffan	sebbjan
410	sak	sakan	<i>sōk</i> N.	sacan	sahhan	sakan
	skab	skaban	skafa	scafan	skaban	
	skak		skaka	scacan		skakan
	skap	skapjan	skepja	sciéppan	skaffan	skapjan
	skap	skapjan	<i>skaða</i> W.	sciédðan	<i>skadōn</i> W.	
415	slah	slahan	slā +	slēan	slahan	slahan
	span		<i>spenja</i> W.	spanan	spanan	spanan
	stand	standan	standa	standan	stantan	standan
	stap			steppan	<i>stepfan</i> W.	steppan
	svar	svaran	sverja	swerjan	swerjan	swerjan
420	tak	<i>tēkan</i> V.	taka	tacan		
	þvah	þvahan	þvā	þwēan	dwahan	þwahan
	vad		vaða	wadan	watan	
	vah				wahan	
	vahs	vahsjan	vaxa	wéaxan	wahsan	wahsan
425	vak	vakan	<i>vaka</i> W.	wacan	<i>wachōn</i> W.	<i>wakōn</i> W.
	vask		<i>vaska</i> W.	waskan	waskan	waskan

V. a.

	alp	alpan	<i>elda-sk</i> W.	<i>ēald</i> A.	<i>alt</i> A.	<i>ald</i> A.
	ar	arjan ?	<i>erja</i> W.	<i>erian</i> W.	erran	
	bann		<i>banna</i> W.	bannan	bannan	<i>ban</i> N.
430	bland	blandan	blanda	blandan	blantan	blandan
	fanh	fāhan	fā	fōn	fāhan	fāhan
	fall		falla	féallan	fallan	fallan
	falþ	falþan	falda	féaldan	faltan	
	gang	gaggan +	ganga	gangan	gangan	gangan
435	hanh	hāhan	hanga +	hōn	hāhan	(hangen)
	hald	haldan	halda	héaldan	haltan	haldan
	hals	<i>hals</i> N.	<i>halsa</i> W.	<i>heals</i> N.	halsen + MHG.	<i>helsjan</i> W.
	prang	praggan	<i>pranga</i> W.		<i>pfrenge</i> MHG. W.	

	Stem.	G.	ON.	OE.	OHG.	OS.
	salt	saltan	salta w.	seáltan	saltan	salt N.
440	skald				skaltan	skaldan ?
	spald	spilda N.	speld N.	split NE. W.	spaltan	
	spann		spanna w.	spannan	spannan	spanan IV.
	stald	staldan		steáldan	-stalt A.	
	vald ²²	valdan	valda +	wéaldan	waltan	waldan
445	walk		wálka w.	wéalcán	walkan	
	vall	vulan Ib.	vella Ic.	wéallan	wallan	wallan
	valt	valtjan w.	velta w.	wéaltan +	walzan	

V. b.

	bāg		bægja w.		bāgan +	? bāgan
	blās ²³	blēsan	blāsa	blāsen ME.	blāsan	
450	brād		brād N.	brāda N.	brātan	
	drād			drādan	trātan	drādan
	grāt ²³	grētan	grāta	grāetan	grāzen MHG. W.	grātan
	lāt ²³	lētan	lāta	lāetan	lāzan	lātan
	rād ²³	rēdan	rāda	rādan	rātan	rādan
455	slāp	slēpan	sleppa Ic.	slāpan	slāfan	slāpan
	tāk ²³	tēkan	taka IV.	tacan IV.		
	vāt	vaian v.		wāwan v.	wāzan	wātan
	blā		blār N.	blāwan	blāhan +	
	knā		knega Ia.	cnāwan	knāhan w.	knēgan w.
460	krā			crāwan	krāhan w.	
	lā ²³	laian	lā w.	lēan IV.	lahan IV.	lahan IV.
	mā		mā w.	māwan	māhan w.	
	sā ²³	saian	sā ²³ +	sāwan	sāhan w.	sāhan +
	prā			prāwan	dræn + MHG.	
465	wā ²³	vaian	? vei !	wāwan	wāhan w.	

V. c.

	blōt	blōtan	blōta +	blōtan	blōzan +	
	flōk	flōkan			fluohhan +	flōkan
	hrōp	hrōpjan w.	hrōpa w.	hrōpan	hruofan +	hrōpan
	hwōs			hwōsan		
470	hvōp	hvōpan		hwōpan		
	knōd			cnōdan		
	svōg	svōgjan w.		swōgan	swēg N.	swōgan w.
	vōp	vōpjan w.	αpa w.	wēpan	wuofan +	wōpan
	blō			blōwan	bluohan w.	blōan w.
475	flō	flōdus N.	flōa w.	flōwan	fluot N.	flōd N.
	glō		glōa w.	glōwan	gluohan w.	
	grō ²²		grōa +	grōwan	gruohan w.	
	hlō		hlōa ?	hlōwan	hlōjan w.	
	rō ²²		rōa +	rōwan	rūejen w. MHG.	
480	spō			spōwan	spuohan w.	spōt N.

V. d.

	Stem.	G.	ON.	OE.	OHG.	OS.
	aik	aikan			<i>eihhōn</i> w.	
	aisk	cf. <i>aistan</i> w.	cf. <i>ēsta</i> w.	<i>āscian</i> w.	eischen MHG.	<i>ēskōn</i> w.
	frais	fraisan	<i>fraista</i> w.	<i>frāsjan</i> w.	<i>freisen</i> w. MHG.	
	hait	haitan	heita	hātan	heizan	hētan
485	hvais ²⁴		<i>hvāsa</i> w.	hwāsan		
	laik	laikan	leika	lācan	leichen + MHG.	
	mait	maitan	<i>meita</i> w.	<i>mīle</i> N.	meizan	
	naip ²⁴	<i>ganipnan</i> w.		nāpan		
	skaid	skaidan	<i>skeið</i> N.	scādan	skeidan	skēðan
490	svaif	<i>sveiban</i> II.	<i>svīfa</i> + II.	swāfan	<i>sweibōn</i> w.	
	svaip	<i>sveipains</i> N.	sveipa +	swāpan	sweifan	swēpan
	tais			<i>tāsan</i> w.	zeisan	
	plaih	plaihan			<i>flēhjan</i> w.	

V. e.

	aud		(auðinn)	(ēaden)	-ōt N.	(ōdan)
495	auk	aukan	auka	(ēacen)	<i>ouhhōn</i> w.	(ōkan)
	aus		ausa			
	baut		bauta +	bēatan	bōzan	
	braut		<i>brjōta</i> III.	brēatan	<i>briesen</i> III. MHG. <i>brētōn</i> w.	
	daug			dēagan	<i>tougal</i> A.	
500	hauf	<i>hiufan</i> III.	<i>hjūfa</i> w.	hēafan	<i>hiufan</i> w.	<i>hiōvan</i> ?
	hlaup	hlaupan	hlaupa	hlēapan	loufan	hlōpan
	hnaup	<i>hniupan</i> III.	<i>hnupla</i> w.	hnēapan		
	skraud		<i>skrūð</i> N.	<i>scrēadjan</i> w.	skrōtan	
	spraut		<i>spretta</i> Ic.	sprēatan	<i>spriozen</i> III. MHG.	
505	staut	stautan	<i>stuttr</i> A.		stōzan	stōtan
	bau ²⁵	bauan +	bua	buan +	<i>bouwen</i> w. MHG. <i>bouan</i> w.	
	hau	<i>havi</i> N.	hōggva	hēawan	houwan	(hauwan)
	nau ²²	b-nauan	nūa +	<i>nēod</i> N.	nūan	<i>niod</i> N.
	sau		sōa +		? <i>sōna</i> N.	
510	snau ²²	<i>snīvan</i> Ia.	snūa	<i>snēowan</i> III.		
	spau	<i>speīvan</i> II.	spyja +	<i>spīwan</i> II.	<i>spīwan</i> II.	<i>spīwan</i> II.

NOTES TO THE LIST.

1. brak. The West Germanic dialects have participles according to Ib, but Frisian has Ia.

2. fragn. The *n* is only in the present in EG., but it makes its way occasionally into other forms in OE., and always in OS. The stem *frag* is an offshoot of this stem.

3. þvar. Fick, 3. 142, separates the WG. word from the EG. given here, and compares to the WG. ON. *þvara* N.

4. ball. ON. *bella* = hit, hurt; WG. *bellan* = to bell, with which compare ON. *belja* and *boli*; yet the meanings of the strong verbs can be reconciled, and they are from one stem.

5. brang. The pret. and part. are always weak in Gothic, and often in WG.
6. klang. OE. *clingan* = to contract; OHG. *chlingan* = to ring; yet they are from the same WG. stem.
7. smalt = malt. The two stems exist side by side in Germanic; outside of Germanic we find only *mald*; yet the related stem OG. *smart*, Indo-European *smard*, proves the *s* to be old. See Fick, 3. 236, 357; 1. 836, 721.
8. glid. ON. *gláðr* = OHG. *glat* is from an OG. stem *glad*, which appears as *gland* in HG. dialectic *glandern*, and with the absorbed nasal in *glid*.
9. hrin. The ON. *hrína* means "squeal"; WG. means "touch."
10. ih. In OHG. and OS. the singular is not found. The infinitive is OHG. *eigan*, OS. *ēgan*.
11. ki and kin may be identical, and the *n* originally part of the present stem, as in *fragn* Ia. The G. verb occurs only in the participle *kijans*.
12. rist for *vrist* = *vrit-t*. So Scherer, *Deutsche Sprache*, 247. If this is so, the words from the older dialects are related to *rist*, else there are no words connected with it.
13. slid. This is shown to be Gothic by the Old French *eslider*. See Dietz, *Wörterbuch*, 575. See also Schade, *Wb.* 825.
14. sniv. The ME. is strong, rarely weak. The OE. is weak and rare.
15. split, and also *sprit*, is borrowed into HG. from LG., whence also English *split*. The stem is from *sprant*, Ic.
16. svip. The strong verb is found in ON. only in preterit; in MHG. only in present and preterit. OS. has only *forswēp*, which may be from *sweipan* V. All these forms are derived from a verb of class V., stem *svaip*. See Schade, *Wb.*, 914.
17. svip. On the relations of this stem to *svap* Ia. and *sup* III., see Schade, *Wb.*, 906, and Johannes Schmidt's *Vocalismus* 1. 58.
18. hrup. ON. *hrjoða* = "strip, disable, vomit forth," Vigfusson, Dict. 286; ON. *hröpinn*, OE. *hroden* are participial adjectives, corresponding in form to the verb, but meaning "dressed, painted, adorned." It is difficult to reconcile these meanings.
19. sug. The ON. has *sjūga* and *sūga*, the OE. *sūcan* and *sūgan*.
20. spuft. This stem is doubtful, owing to the double consonant. I find the word in Sievers's *Anglo-Saxon Grammar* given as Northumbrian.
21. raf. The OE. verb occurs only in Genesis 2078 *berōfan*, which may be miswritten for *rufoŋ*, preterit plural of *rēofan* III., but this word corresponds with Latin *rapio*. Cf. Schmidt's *Vocalismus* II. 292, 465.
22. vald Ia. has in ON. a strong present and preterit and a weak preterit and participle; grō, rō of Vc. have in ON. weak preterits but strong participles. The same is also true in ON. of *sā* Vb. and *nau*, *snau* Ve. See Wimmer, *Grammar*, § 156.
23. The stems *blās*, *grāt*, *lāt*, *rād* have *ē* in the present and *ō* with reduplication in the past in Gothic. They therefore, and also *lā*, *sā*, *wā*, show both ablaut and reduplication. In other dialects they are regular members of class V. Like these in Gothic is *tēkan*, stem *tāk*; but here the other dialects have the stem *tak* IV.
24. hvais, naip. *Hwāsan* is given by Sievers in his *Grammar*, p. 137, without citation; *nāpan* is placed here because of *genēop*, Exodus 475; but the form may be a mistake for *genāp* from *nīpan* II.

25. bau. The preterit is weak in G., OE.

26. kid, knid. OE. *cīdan* occurs in present in Aelfric's Homilies I. 96, II. 158, and in Wāldere. It may be identical with the weak *cīdan*. Sievers gives it as strong, *Grammar*, p. 130; *cūdan* is found in Sievers, but Leo and Grein have not the word. I know no passage in which it occurs.

SECTION II. — ANALYSIS OF THE TABLE.

There are in all 511 stems. Of these, 54 belong to Ia., 16 to Ib., 135 to Ic., making 205 with *a*¹ as root-vowel. Class II. has 102 stems; here the Indo-European vowel was *ai*. Class III. has 73 stems; the root-vowel is *au*. Class IV., containing the verbs with *a*², has 46 stems. Class V. has 85 originally reduplicating verbs.

The following table shows the distribution of the verbs among the dialects according to classes: —

	I. a.	I. b.	I. c.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	Total.
G.	27	8	36	27	21	25	36	180
ON.	30	6	59	43	39	27	31	235
OE.	32	11	81	64	57	32	60	337
O. and MHG.	40	15	99	72	45	27	46	344
OS.	21	8	37	35	24	21	28	174
All Dialects	54	16	135	102	73	46	85	511

The next step in the investigation is to consider the relation of the dialects to one another, so that we may see how far each follows in the beaten track, how far it opens a path of its own, and whether a group of dialects can be distinguished from the others in any important particulars. I shall give first a list of those verbs which I have found in all the five dialects; then those found in four; then those found in East Germanic and West Germanic, though only in three or two dialects; then those found in West Germanic in three or two languages; and, finally, those which occur in one dialect only.

Common to all dialects are the stems: I. a. at, bad, gab, gat, kvað, lag, las, mag, sahv, sat, vas, vrak (12). I. b. bar, kwam, nam, skal, stal (5). I. c. band, barg, brann, drank, falh, fand, gald, halp, hvarb, kann, rann, sangv, sankv, svarb, þarb, vand, vann, varp, varþ (20). II. bid, bit, drib, grip, hnigv, ih, liþ, ris, skin, sniþ, stig, vit (12). III. bud, gut, kus, lug, luk, nut, tuh (7). IV. drag, far, grab, hab, hlah, hlaþ, skap, slah, stand, svar, þvah, vahs (12). V. a. bland, fanh, gang, hanh, hald, vald; b. lāt, rād; d. hait; e. hlaup (10). Total, 78 stems.

The following 65 stems occur in four dialects: —

G. ON. OE. OHG. I. a. fat, mat, rak, trad, vag. I. c. spann, stankv. III. bug, þrut. IV. skab. V. a. fald; b. blās; c. blōt; d. laik; e. bau. Total, 15.

G. ON. OE. OS. I. a. man, fragn. V. b. grāt, sā; e. auk. Total, 5.

G. ON. OHG. OS. IV. mal. Total, 1.

G. OE. OHG. OS. I. a. brak, nas; I. c. brang, dars, gann. II. lib, lihv, spiv, tih, þih. III. dug, drug, fluh, lud, lus. IV. sak, mat. V. b. slāp; d. skaid. Total, 19.

ON. OE. OHG. OS. I. c. balg, bragd, brast, sparn, sprang, svall, þrangv. II. blik, hrin, klib, sig, skrip, slit, svík, vik, vrit. III. drup, flut, hlut, klub, ruk, skut. V. a. fall; d. svaip; e. hau. Total, 25.

Of the following, 77 stems occur in three, 97 in two, dialects. Of these, 74 are confined to the wg.

G. ON. OE. I. c. stang. II. svib. IV. al. Total, 3.

G. ON. OHG. V. e. nau. Total, 1.

G. OE. OHG. I. a. nah; I. b. tar; I. c. lann, þrask. II. slid, smit, vig. III. skub, slup. V. a. salt. Total, 10.

G. OE. OS. III. drus. Total, 1.

G. OHG. OS. V. c. flōk; e. staut. Total, 2.

ON. OE. OHG. I. a. drap, fah, vab; I. b. skar; I. c. ann, ball, gall, sard, slangv, svalg, svamm, vrang. II. drit, mig, rid, rif (hrif), skit, sniv, vriþ. III. brut, flug, frus, hrut, krup, rut, sug, sup, smug, put. IV. flah, gal, gnag, vad. V. e. baut. Total, 35.

ON. OE. OS. IV. skak. V. e. aup. Total, 2.

ON. OHG. OS. II. svip. Total, 1.

G. OE. IV. dab, skaþ, vak. V. a. stald; b. vā; c. hvōp. Total, 6.

G. OHG. I. a. vad; I. b. tam; I. c. sland, þans. II. vip. V. a. ar; d. mait. Total, 7.

G. OS. II. skrit. III. huf. Total, 2.

ON. OE. I. a. svab, þag; I. c. hrand, slank. II. gin, hnit, hvin, snik, vlit. III. hrus, hruþ, lut, rub, rud. IV. ak, tak. V. c. grō, hlō, rō. Total, 19.

ON. OHG. I. a. strap, lak; I. c. kramp, skall, sprant, skramp, vall. III. hnus, hnup, slut. Total, 10.

ON. OS. I. a. trag. III. stup. Total, 2.

OE. OHG. OS. I. a. plag, sprak; I. b. dval, hal, kval; I. c. dalb, darb, starb, svang. II. glid, gnid, kin, miþ, skrib. III. hru. IV. lah, span, vask. V. a. vall; b. drād; c. hrōp, vōp. Total, 22.

OE. OHG. I. a. knad; I. b. þvar; I. c. faht, galp, gramm, grand, hlamm, hramp, karb, klamb, klang, krimm, lamp, malk, salk, sann, skrank, malt (smalt), smart, svand, þrand. II. flit, sih, slip, strid,

strik, vrih. III. bru, ku, krud, sprut. IV. bak. V. a. bann, spann, valk, valt; b. blā, prā. Total, 38.

OE. OS. I. c. svark. II. hlid. III. bruk, grut. IV. stap. Total, 5.

OHG. OS. I. a. jah, stak; I. c. þvang, varr. II. glit. IV. sab. V. a. skalt; b. bāg, vāt. Total, 9.

The following 193 are confined to one dialect:—

G. I. a. hlifan, niþan, divan, snivan; I. b. vulan; I. c. bliggvan, gairdan, hinþan, trimpan, þairsan, vilvan. II. deigan, kijan, leisan, þreihan. III. hniupan, kriustan, siukan. IV. ōg, anan, draban, fraþjan, raþjan. V. alþan, praggan, tēkan; laian, aikan, fraisan, þlaihan. Total, 30.

ON. I. a. freta, knā, (slokinn); I. c. bryggja, detta, gnesta, gnella, hnyggja, hrökkva, klökkva, skjalfa, slippa, smella, snerta, tyggja, þverra, velta. II. fisa, (hnifinn,) klipa, kvipa, rista, sīpa, svīpa, þrifa. III. fjūka, gjōsa, ljōsta, strjūka. IV. deyja, geyja, hnafa, kala, klā. V. ausa, spyja, sōa, snūa. Total, 38.

OE. I. a. fricgan, screpan; I. c. béorcan, géorran, hwéorran, cringan, cwincan, murnan, stregdan, swincan, teldan, tingan, þindan, þingan. II. dwīnan, grisan, cīdan, cnīdan, cwīnan, nīpan, rīnan, rīpan, sican, þwītan. III. brēoðan, dūfan, gēopan, grēosan, hēoðan, lēofan, smēocan, snēowan, spēoftan, strūdan, swēon. IV. rafan. V. cnāwan, crāwan, māwan; hwōsan, cnōdan, swōgan, blōwan, flōwan, glōwan, spōwan; hwāsan, nāpan, swāfan; brēatan, dēagan, hēafan, hnēapan, sprēatan. Total, 54.

OHG. I. a. fnehan, jesan, jetan, scehan, swehhan, swedan, rehhan; I. b. breman, sweran; I. c. flehtan, hellan, hinkan, hrespan, cherran, quellan, lingan, leskan, smidan, skeltan, skerran, scrintan, snerhan, snerfan, winkan. II. grīnan, lipan, rīhhan, rīman, scriān, slihhan, swīnan, wīsan. III. bliuwan, kriochan, stiuban. IV. leffan, wahan. V. spaltan, brātan, zeisan, skrōtan. Total, 41.

MHG. I. a. regen, schrecken; I. b. tremen; I. c. brimmen, glimmen, grinnen, klimpfen, cnellen, schinden, sterzen, trinnen, dehsen, dimpfen. II. (brisen), (britten), tīchen, (gliffen,) glīen, krīgen, (lichen,) limen, nīden, schīben, schīten, schīden, splīzen, swīgen. III. biuzen. V. halsen, eischen. Total, 30. Total of OHG. and MHG., 71.

NOTE. The following 18 verbs have been added to OE. since ME. times: From the French, *arīven* + ME., *finen* + ME., *prove* + NE., *strīven* + ME. NE.; from Norse weak verbs are *dingen* ME. NE. W., *flīngen* ME. NE.; from a Norse strong verb is *thrīven* ME. NE.; from OE. weak verbs are *dig* NE., *ringen* ME. +, NE. S., *rot* NE. +, *saw* NE. +,

show + NE., *spit* + NE., *stick* NE., *strow* + NE., *wear* NE.; from OE. nouns are *stave* + NE., *string* NE. None of these are to be considered as original. They are formed according to very obvious analogies, and are often sporadic in their appearance.

If we examine the lists just given, we shall find that the G. has 103 verbs in common with the ON; 137 in common with the OE.; 133 with OHG.; and 108 with OS. Further, the ON. has 182 in common with OE.; 166 with OHG.; and 114 with OS. The OE. has 242 verbs in common with OHG., and 157 with OS. The OHG., finally, has 157 in common with OS. It will thus be seen that OE. stands in closer relations to every other Germanic dialect than any others among themselves, except OHG. and OS., where the correspondence is equal. It may at first surprise us to find OE. so much more closely related to ON. than the G., but if we compare the number of verbs in each case with the number of coincidences we shall find that the *per cent* of coincidences between G. and ON. is 57, while that between OE. and ON. is 54. The closest relation between any two dialects exists between OE. and OHG., which share more than 70 per cent together.

These lists suggest many other subjects for comment; but I will pass immediately to the third division of my subject.

SECTION III. — THE GROWTH OF ABLAUT.

When we consider the scanty material which the early period of any language affords, it is obvious that many words must have existed that have not come down to us. The absence of a verb from a dialect is therefore no proof that it did not exist, and we must depend on other evidence to show whether verbs can be traced back to the common OG. source. If we examine the list given above, we find 243 verbs common to East and West Germanic, 74 verbs confined to West Germanic, and 194 to a single dialect. The question I propose to essay is, How many of these latter 268 are to be attributed to the OG.; how many are original to WG. or to the single dialects?

Wherever the Indo-European languages show strong verbs corresponding to the Germanic there can be no hesitation in pronouncing the latter to be old; but this is rarely the case. When the European derivatives of the root show ablaut-vowels, the chances are in favor of the age of the verb. So, too, when the East Germanic contains derivatives with ablaut of a West Germanic verb, and *vice versa*; yet in some cases the verb is the derivative of a noun, even when other dialects show ablaut. We have to consider the age of the manuscript in

which the verb appears, and also whether it may not have been formed by analogy. Space fails here to enter into all these details with every verb. I have limited myself to indicating as briefly as possible the nature and degree of evidence of age. This I have also pointed out even when I have classed the verb as new. Where I have given no reference I know of no more evidence of age than the related forms given in the main list; if there are no forms given there and no reference here, the verb is isolated. The references are to the third edition of Fick's *Wörterbuch* (Fick), to Schade's *Altdeutsches Wörterbuch*, second edition (Schade), and to Johannes Schmidt's *Vocalismus* (Schmidt, Voc.).

The following 59 verbs may with more or less certainty be pronounced OG.:—

I. a. *knad* OE. OHG. Cf. Dan. *kne*, ON. *knōða*; O. Prus. *gnose*, O. Slav. *gneta*.

sprak OE. OHG. OS. Ablaut derivatives in Lithuanian and Sansk.

See Schade, Wb. 856; Fick, Wb. 3. 355.

stak OHG. OS. Ablaut deriv. in G. ON. and Slavic; Schade, 868.

hlaf G. Abl. der. in Grk. Lat. Stem is Slavic. Fick, 1. 541.

skrap OE. ON. OHG.; Lith. Lat. Grk. Schade, 780.

fnah OHG. Cf. *πνέιν*, *πνοή*, *πνέυμα*.

jas OHG. Grk. Skr. Fick, 1. 183.

skah OHG. Cf. OHG. *schih*, and Slavic. Schade, 785.

trak OHG. Low G. Fris. Slavic. Schade, 952.

I. b. *dval* OE. OHG. OS. Cf. G. *dvals*, ON. *dvöl*; Lat. Grk. Fick, 1. 640.

hal OE. OHG. OS. Cf. G.; Slav. Grk. Lat. Schade, 384.

kval OE. OHG. OS. Cf. ON.; Slavic. Schade, 693.

I. c. *dalb* OE. OHG. OS. No EG. ablaut, but Slavic. Schade, 925.

malk OE. OHG. Cf. G. ON.; Slavic, Lat. Fick, 1. 174, 720.

samþ OE. OHG. Cf. G. ON.; Lat. Slavic. Fick, 3. 318; Schade, 765.

smalt OE. OHG. Cf. G. ON.; Grk. Sansk. Fick, 1. 175; Schade, 587.

smart ME. OHG. Cf. Swed.; Lith. Lat. Sansk. Schade, 833.

starb OE. OHG. OS. Cf. ON. Lith.; but note the altered meaning. Schade, 869; Fick, 3. 347.

svangu OE. OHG. OS. Cf. G. ON.; Lith. Schade, 916; Fick, 2. 505.

pvang OHG. OS. Cf. ON. Slavic. Fick, 3. 142.

vars OHG. OS. Cf. G. ON.; Lat. Slav. Fick, 3. 295.

- gard* G. Cf. OHG. ON. OE.; Lith. Fick, 3. 102. Grk. Lat. Fick, 1. 580.
- hanp* G. Cf. OE. OHG. Fick, 1. 545; Schade, 401.
- pars* G. Cf. ON. OE. OHG.; Sansk. Lat. Grk. Fick, 1. 600.
- skalf* ON. Cf. OE. *scielfan*, *scéalfor*, *scylfor*. Leo, AS. *Glos.* 247.
- þang* OE. Cf. ON. *þungr*, and *þih* II. Schmidt, Voc. 1. 52.
- flaht* OHG. Cf. Lat. Grk. Slavic. Fick, 1. 681; 3. 193.
- hank* OHG. Cf. ON. *skakkr*, Sansk. *khanj*. Fick, 1. 804.
- karr* OHG. Lith. Lat. Schade, 483; Fick, 1. 565.
- nanp* OHG. Cf. *nap* I. a. Fick, 3. 160; Schade, 651.
- skrand* OHG. Cf. *skrit* II. Schmidt, Voc. I. 172; Fick, 3. 339.
- vank* OHG. Cf. Lith. Schade, 1162.
- pahs* MHG. Cf. Sansk. Lat. Grk. Lith. Fick, 1. 86; 3. 128.
- II. *glit* OHG. OS. Derivatives in G. ON. OE. OHG. Schade, 337, and Schmidt, Voc. 1. 57.
- kin* OE. OHG. OS. See Note 11.
- miþ*. OE. OHG. OS. Cf. G.; Lith. Grk. Lat. Sansk. Schade, 607; Fick, 1. 176.
- sih* OE. OHG. Cf. the stems *sig* and *sik*. Schmidt, Voc. 1. 63.
- slip* OE. OHG. Cf. ON.; Lett. Grk. Schmidt, Voc. 1. 162; Fick, 2. 504.
- dig* G. Cf. ON. OE. OHG.; Grk. Lat. Sansk. Fick, 1. 118; 3. 147.
- lis* G. Cf. ON. and WG.; also Slavic and Lat. Schade, 543.
- þrif* ON. Cf. OE. *þrāfjan*, and Schmidt, Voc. 1. 53.
- hnip* ON. Cf. OE. *hnipian*, *hnāpian*.
- rih* OHG. Cf. Lith. Grk. Sansk. Schade, 714; Fick, 1. 195; 3. 253.
- III. *bru* OE. OHG. Cf. ON. Grk. Lat. Fick, 1. 696.
- hru* OE. OHG. OS. Cf. ON.; Grk. Irish, Zend. Fick, 1. 539.
- ku* OE. OHG. Cf. Slavic. Fick, 2. 351.
- suk* G. Cf. OE. OHG. ON. Schade, 770.
- struk* ON. Cf. OHG.; Slavic, Grk. Schmidt, Voc. 1. 161.
- smuk* OE. Cf. Low G. Lith. Grk. Schade, 832; Fick, 1. 835.
- snu* OE. Cf. G. *snivan* I. a., and ON. *snūa* V. Schade, 839; Fick, 1. 829; 3. 351.
- blu* OHG. Cf. G. *bliggvan* I. a., and Schmidt, Voc. 1. 108; Fick, 1. 703.
- IV. *bak* OE. OHG. Cf. Grk. Fick, 1. 678.
- ag* G. Cf. Fick, 3. 12; 1. 9.
- drab* G. Cf. OE. OHG.; Lith. Schmidt, Voc. 2. 22; Schade, 925; Leo, Angels.-Glos. 49.

frap G. Cf. OE. OHG. Fick, 3. 190; 1. 149; and OHG. *frad*.

kal ON. Cf. OE. OHG. G.; and Slavic, Lat. Fick, 3. 44.

vak OHG. Cf. Sansk. Latin, Grk. Schade, 1075; Fick, 1. 204.

V. *lā* G. Cf. O. Icel. *lā* w. Sansk. Grk. Lat. Fick, 1. 187, 747.

knā OE. Cf. ON. OHG.; Sansk. Lat. Grk. Fick, 1. 68, 559.

The total number of OG. verbs in each class is therefore, I. a. 40, I. b. 11, I. c. 73, II. 55, III. 52, IV. 33, V. 38; in all 302. The additions are, to I. a. 9, I. b. 3, I. c. 21, II. 10, III. 8, IV. 6, V. 2; in all 59.

The following verbs are certainly or probably peculiar to WG. :—

I. a. jah, plag (from Lat. *placare*, Schade, Wb. 678); I. b. þvar; I. c. darb, faht (Fick, 1. 658), galp, grand, gramm, hlamm, hramp (Fick, 1. 523), karb (Fick, 1. 574), klamb, klang, kramm (Fick, 2. 352), lamp (Schade, 559), salk, skrank, svand, svark, prand. II. flit, glid (Schmidt, Voc. 1. 58), gnid, hlid (Schmidt, Voc. 2. 251), skrib (from Lat. *scribere*), strid, strik (Schade, 879; Schmidt, Voc. 1. 54), vrih. III. bruk (Fick, 1. 703), grut (see V. b.), krud, sprut (see V. and I. c.; Schade, 858). IV. lah, sab (from Latin *sapa*), span (Fick, 1. 829, shows Grk. forms according to I. a.), stap (Fick, 1. 821; Schmidt, Voc. 1. 128, 155; I. E. stems stab I. a. and stamb I. c.), vask. V. bann, skald, spann, valk, vall (see I. b. and I. c.), valt (see I. c.), drād, vāt (Schade, 1105 f.), blā, þrā, hröp (originally weak), vōp, svōg.

The number of WG. verbs in each class is therefore, I. a. 2, I. b. 1, I. c. 17, II. 8, III. 4, IV. 5, V. 13; in all 50.

The following verbs seem peculiar to the separate dialects :—

I. a. G. divan (see IV.), nīpan, snivan (see III.); ON. freta, knega (analogy of *mā*), (slokinn); OE. fricgan (from *fragn*); OHG. jetan, swedan (Schade, 906), swehhan; MHG. regen, schrecken.

I. b. G. vulan (Fick, 1. 772); OHG. breman (from bremo; see Fick, 1. 702), sweran (Fick, 1. 257); MHG. treman.

I. c. G. bliggvan (see III.), trimpan, vilvan (EG.); ON. (bruginn) see III., detta (Fick, 3. 144), gnesta, gnella, hnöggva (Fick, 3. 81), hrökkva, klökkva, sleppa (cf. OHG. slimm), smella, snerta (Fick, 3. 350), tyggva, þverra (see I. b.), velta (see V.); OE. béorcan (Fick, 3. 206), géorran, hwéorran, cringan, cwincan, murnan (w. in EG., and usually in WG.), stregdan (analogy of bragd), swincan, teldan (Fick, 3. 120), tingan (Fick, 3. 116), þindan (Fick, 1. 88); OHG. hellan, hrespan, quellan (Schade, 694), lingan (Schade, 560; Fick, 1. 190), leskan, (usually weak), skeltan, skerran (see I. b.), snerhan, snerfan (Schade,

839) ; MHG. brimmen (see I. b.), glimmen (from glimen MHG.), grinnen (from grīnen MHG.), klimpfen, knellen, schinden (usually weak), sterzen (usually weak), trinnen, dimpfen (from dampf, but cf. Schmidt, Voc. I. 157).

II. G. kijan (see Note 11), preihan (yet see Schmidt, Voc. I. 53) ; ON. fisa (Fick, I. 833 ; 3. 186), klipa (originally weak), kviða (originally weak), rīsta (or *vrīsta*), sīpa (from seiðr = Lith. saitas = MHG. seid), sviða (Schmidt, Voc. I. 58) ; OE. dwinan, grisan (see III.), cidan, cnidan, cwinan (from cwānian, which is OG.), nīpan (Schmidt, Voc. I. 59), rīnan (for rignan w.), ripan (for rīepan w.), sican, þwitan ; OHG. grīnan, hlifan, rīman (for hrīnan), scrian (Fick, I. 812), slīhhan (Schmidt, Voc. I. 54), swīnan, wīsan (Fick, I. 220, 786) ; MHG. (brisen, from *brīse* N.), (briden), (gliffen, from weak *gliffen*), tīchen, glīen, krīgen, lichēn (from OHG. *lichēn* w.), limen (from *lim* N.), nīden (from *nīd* N.), schīben (from *schīben* weak), schīten (from *schīt* N.), schīden (from *scheiden* V. and *schīdōn* w.), spliten (also *sprīten* and *sprīzen*, Schmidt, Voc. I. 58), swīgen (originally weak).

III. G. hniupan (cf. ON. and OE. ; Schade, 409 ; Fick, I. 807), kriustan ; ON. fjuka, gjōsa, ljōsta ; OE. brēoðan, dūfan, gēopan (Schade, 344), grēosan, hēoðan, leofan (from *lēaf* and *lufu*), spēoftan, strūdan, swēon ; OHG. criochan (cf. crēopan OE.), stiuban ; MHG. biuzen (see V.).

IV. G. anan (Fick, I. 12), rapjan (from *rapjō*) ; ON. deyja (see I. a. G. *divan* original ablaut III. Fick, I. 119 ; Schade, 948), geýja, hnafa (Fick, I. 807), klā (from *klō* N.) ; OE. rafan (yet cf. Schmidt, Voc. 2. 292, 465) ; OHG. laffan (Fick, I. 751).

V. G. alpan (from *alps*), praggan (from Slavic, Schade, 685), tāk (see IV.), aikān (Schmidt, Voc. 2. 474), fraisan, þlaihan (Schade, 204) ; ON. ausa, spýja (see II.), sōa, snūa (see I. a. and III.) ; OE. crāwan, māwan, hwōsan (Fick, 3. 94 ; 1. 555), cnōdan, blōwan (Fick, I. 703), flōwan (Fick, I. 665), glōwan (Fick, I. 578), hlōwan (Fick, I. 529), spiwan (Fick, I. 829), hwæsan, nāpan (see II.), swāfan (see II.), brēatan (see III.), dēagan, hēafan (see III.), hnēapan (see III.), sprēatan (see III.) ; OHG. spaltan (Schade, 846), bāgan (originally weak), brātan (Fick, 3. 216), zeisan, skrōtan (Fick, I. 818 ; 2. 491 ; 3. 339) ; MHG. halsen (OHG. is weak), eischen (OHG. is weak).

The number of isolated verbs in each class is therefore, I. a. 12, I. b. 4, I. c. 45, II. 39, III. 17, IV. 8, V. 34 ; in all 159.

This examination of these 268 verbs shows us that 59 can be proved to be OG., while 50 are WG., and 159 remain confined to a single dialect. A more detailed study of these would show that in most in-

stances they are differentiated forms of already existing stems, or are formed by analogy from nouns or weak verbs. There remains a small number which the existing material does not allow us to explain, though we cannot doubt their origin was the same as that of the great majority. Here I take leave of this subject, having shown that fully two fifths of the Germanic strong verbs have no claim to be regarded as the common heritage of the race, and that the ablaut in Germanic is a living force, not, as in the classical languages, a survival whose use and meaning is forgotten.